HAMMARSKJOLD'S ROLE ASSESSED

UN gets another try to end Congo crisis; small nations angry

NATIONAL GUARDIAN
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VOL. 13, NO. 20 NEW YORK, FEBRUARY 27, 1961

By Kumar Goshal

AS HE HAD DONE five days earlier, UN Secy. Gen. Hammarskjold opened the Feb. 20 meeting of the Security Council with news of a massacre by the Western powers' political proteges in the Congo. He said he had just learned "with revolt and shock" that six more Lumumba aides had been executed in Albert Kalonji's secessionist South Kasai province, where they had been transferred from Leopoldville by President Kasavubu. The parallel with the murder of Patrice Lumumba was mockingly clear.

The representatives of Ceylon and the United Arab Republic unqualifiedly condemned Congo President Kasavubu, U.S.-sponsored army chief Col. Mobutu, Kalonji and Katanga's Belgian puppet Tshombe for the new murder of six former high officials of last year's legal Lumumba government. The UAR delegate said: "History will not forget the crime of which these murderers are guilty."

THE COUNCIL ACTS: The Council reconvened after a short adjournment. It voted against a Soviet proposal (1) condemning the murders; (2) calling for the arrest and trial of Tshombe and Mobutu; (3) expulsion of Belgian personnel and sanctions against Belgium; (4) dismissal of Hammarskjold, and (5) withdrawal of UN forces in a month to let the Congolese decide their own future.

Then in the early morning of Feb. 21 it passed a Ceylon-Liberian-UAR resolution calling for (1) the "use of force if necessary" by the UN to prevent civil war in the Congo; (2) the immediate evacuation of Belgian and other foreign forces and paramilitary personnel, and (3) an immediate impartial investigation into the circumstances of the murders. The Soviet Union abstained, deferring to the wishes of the Afro-Asian nations.

At GUARDIAN press time the Council also had before it a proposal made by Ghana's President Nkrumah in a Feb. 18 letter to Hammarskjold. Nkrumah called for (1) a new all-African command which would disarm the Congolese

(Continued on Page 8)

THE UNITED NATIONS RISES TRANSFIXED TO WITNESS AN AMERICAN PROTEST

In the spectators' area (see photo, p. 8) there was sorrow and anger over the death of Lumumba

720 SCIENTISTS FROM 38 COUNTRIES SIGN UN PETITION

Paulings ask ban on spread of nuclear arms

By Robert E. Light

NOBEL LAUREATE Dr. Linus Pauling and his wife, Ava Helen, presented a petition to the United Nations Feb. 16 against the spread of nuclear weapons, signed by 720 scientists and other prominent persons from 38 countries. Pauling called the signers an initial list and he invited peace groups in the U.S. and elsewhere to "institute a great program of collection of signatures to the petition."

The petition called universal disarmament "the essential basis for life and liberty of all people." It added that disarmament would become increasingly more difficult if more countries owned nuclear weapons. It called on present nuclear powers to keep nuclear weapons from NATO and Warsaw Pact countries and it asked non-nuclear powers to "voluntarily refrain from obtaining or developing them."

The Paulings devised the petition and sent copies with covering letters to 2,000 persons around the world at their own expense. On Feb. 13 Pauling arranged to come to the UN from his home in California. The signatures he presented were those that had arrived by the time he left. He said more were coming in every day.

TOP FIGURES: Among the signers are 38 Nobel Laureates, 110 members and foreign associates of the U.S. Natl. Academy of Sciences, 102 fellows and foreign members of the Royal Society of London and 21 members of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR. Among the 159 U.S. signers are three former Democratic Congressmen, Byron Johnson, Charles O. Porter and William H. Meyer. Pauling said that he did not solicit signatures from persons currently in the government to save them embarrassment.

Three years ago, on Jan. 13, 1958, Pauling presented a petition to the UN signed by 11,021 prominent persons urging an international agreement on the cessation of bomb tests. Although the nuclear powers voluntarily stopped tests and initiated the Geneva Conference to seek a formal agreement a few months later, Pauling was called by the Senate Internal Security subcommittee last year for questioning on the petition. Sen. Thomas J. Dodd (D-Conn.) asked for the names of those who had helped circulate the petition to determine if "communists" were involved, but Pauling refused to cooperate as "a matter of conscience."

In a letter to UN secy.-gen. Dag Hammarskjold accompanying the current pe-

(Continued on Page 10)

HOW PRESIDENT'S DOMESTIC PROGRAM STANDS

The Kennedy approach: Compromise in advance

By Russ Nixon
Special to the Guardian

WASHINGTON

"THAT'S NOT even a compromise; it's a surrender." The charge was made by AFL-CIO Secretary-Treasurer William F. Schnitzler on Feb. 17 as he testified before the House Labor Committee on President Kennedy's proposed bill to amend the Federal wage and hour law. Schnitzler was referring specifically to the key section of the bill which would extend the law's coverage; on other specific sections the AFL-CIO charged the President with a needlessly "faltering approach" and with compromises that were "misguided efforts at statesmanship."

On the whole, the AFL-CIO spokesman said, President Kennedy's minimum wage bills (HR-3935 and S-895) were "somewhat disappointing." Walter Reuther, president of the United Auto Workers, said the bills represented "forward motion, but the vehicle is inadequate and the pace is too slow."

House Labor Committee chairman Rep. Adam Clayton Powell (D-N.Y.) also criticized the Administration's wage-and-hour proposals as "not measuring up to what I expected." He anticipated efforts in his committee to strengthen the measure. Rep. James Roosevelt (D-Calif.) and Sen. Pat McNamara (D-Mich.) who are sponsoring the Administration bills as chairmen of the sub-committee handling the legislation, are known to be highly dissatisfied.

This key part of President Kennedy's anti-recession program was defended by Secretary of Labor Arthur J. Goldberg, who justified its widely criticized limitations as necessary to achieve "the possible, the attainable, rather than the ideal." Goldberg conceded that he had

(Continued on Page 4)

In this issue

THE AFRICAN STORY
Report to Readers . . . . . p. 2
NEGRO LABOR SPEAKS
The Washington parley . p. 3
GRIM IMPERIAL VALLEY
The lettuce strike . . . . p. 5
THE CRISIS IN ISRAEL
New election ahead? . . p. 6
THE PEOPLE'S SUGAR
Harvest in Cuba . . . . . . p. 7
JOSE RIZAL'S LIFE
See the Spectator . . . . . p. 12

The Mail Bag

The Congo

NEW YORK, N.Y.

As I listened to Adlai Stevenson's maiden speech on the Congo, I was bitterly disappointed. Then I read it carefully, and realized that it was the man, not his speech, which had so disheartened me.

Gone was the great inspiring voice of the independent liberal leader. In its place, the sophistries of the wily corporation lawyer, parroting the brief of his client, drawing the platitudinous red herring of the Administration's self-righteous policy across the trail of our guilt and fear. And to have it praised by the N.Y. Daily **News**, is gall and wormwood.

I also read carefully Soviet Ambassador Zorin's speech — something I'll wager not one in 100,000 Americans have done. In it, I find no evidence that the Soviets wish to "destroy" the United Nations.

Furthermore, I was impressed by the constructive proposals made by Zorin: Throw out the trouble-making Belgians. Disarm the terrorist bands. Convene the legislature. Work in the interest of the Congolese people and not for the neo-colonizers and the stockholders of the rich Katanga uranium mines.

Zorin, it seemed to me, made a lot more sense than did Stevenson.

Charles Pemberton

•

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

A few days ago the people of the United States and freedom-loving peoples all over the world remembered in deep reverence the birth of a historically great but personally simple man: Abraham Lincoln.

He remains a beloved symbol to the whole world because he represents a large part of humanity's conscious sense of justice, freedom and unity of a people.

A great humanist was martyred by a conspiracy which callously and cynically valued only its property and privilege. What a sad and sordid historical parallel is the martyrdom of Patrice Lumumba.

David T. Delman

•

NEW BRUNSWICK, N.J.

The name Lumumba will beat in the hearts and minds of freedom-loving people everywhere, its deep resonance providing the drum beat for the march to end colonialism.

Thomas Knezick

•

CHICAGO, ILL.

Neither Tshombe nor the UN can evade responsibility for this heinous crime. The nations of Europe and Asia cannot close their eyes to the fact that had Patrice Lumumba **NOT** sought the aid of the UN he might be alive today. It will take many years to rebuild confidence in the UN.

Nellie De Schaaf

•

BROOKLYN, N. Y.

In Katanga (where the Haut Miniére reported record gains in 1960) Premier Tshombe and others appear to have become victims of strange forgetfulness. To refresh memories in Elizabethville, Brussels, and elsewhere: There **were** those Nuremberg Trials! And revolutionary justice **did** come to a scoundrel named Mussolini!

Lest it be overlooked: The President of the United States was wounded, and his brother died, in a war begun by political murderers, who did not live to see its end, or if they did, got hanged. Many of us, Negro and white, in East and West, have not forgotten, and won't forget. We shall wait, and work, until justice comes even to Katanga.

Bodo Ohly

•

HOUSTON, TEX.

. . . But what was Lumumba
Is more fierce than death, .
Is great as the hopes in human
hearts
And will not by murder and craft
be smothered out.
This Congolese blood spilled in
the heart of the Congo land
Will sprout flowers sweet with
freedom's fragrance strong
And will poison the nostrils of
these scheming men
Who grope the earth with blood
and gold on their greedy hands.

Sone Worth

•

BALTIMORE, MD.

I cannot see how the U.S. can persist in the illusion that the present Secretary General of the United Nations is qualified to retain that office in the terrifying months ahead of us.

It is possible to maintain that his policies in the Congo have been farsighted and successful, or that they were myopic and disastrous, but to suggest that they have been neutral in regard to the issues at stake between Patrice Lumumba and the succession of barbarous nonentities who enjoy the favor of the Belgian Government is a palpable absurdity.

No instance comes readily to mind, whether relating to the ultimate disposition of Katanga's uranium or any other international problem, in which the present Secretary General has upheld the view of the Soviet bloc on any major substantive question. Therefore he has never been acceptable to one-third of the world.

Morever, he has now succeeded in alienating those nations recently emerging from colonial rule, to whom the memory of white atrocities against their own people is too acute and recent to induce a natural love of our NATO allies. Therefore he is not acceptable to two-thirds of the world, and I suggest that their loss of confidence is well-founded and irretrievable.

Tom Buchanan

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

SAN DIEGO (AP)—The Republican-appointed acting postmaster says that he is resigning out of patriotism. V. Early Roberts, acting postmaster since June 23, 1959, handed his resignation to a postal field supervisor Monday. He said he did so in protest to an order for postmasters to stop using a cancellation stamp reading "report obscene mail to postmaster." Roberts declared this was evidence to him that a campaign to eliminate such obscene matter was being discarded. He added that he felt that the campaign was an effort to strengthen America against Communism.

—**The Daily Palo Alto Times, Feb. 15**

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: J. H., Carmel, Calif.

Stamwitz, Signalman's Journal

"Do you mean I'm passing my test for vice-president, Father?"

Watch Canada

KENORA, ONTARIO

It seems such a pleasure to be able to cull some honest facts from a paper not controlled by a large and rich syndicate.

There is a sudden revulsion in Canada among our political leaders of late, especially the center parties, against the continuance of "follow America" in the arms and defense race. Our leaders suddenly want to follow their own destiny, and besides, we have a very active Socialist Party in Canada (the C.C.F.). I doubt very much the emergence of a Castro in our ranks—we fare too well for that—however, you had better keep your eyes peeled, for strange things are happening up here indeed.

Emil V. Blouin

Heusinger protest

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

We are shocked and angered at the appointment of Nazi Adolf Heusinger as chairman of the Permanent Committee of NATO with headquarters in Washington. Elevation to high position of this arch-collaborator of Hitler is an affront to Americans who died to defeat fascism, and to all the living who believe in and strive for democracy.

Brooklyn Council of Peace Groups
Evelyn Hodak, Secy.
97 Brooklyn Ave.

Changing channels

NEW BEDFORD, MASS.

Fidel Castro has changed the channel of profits for the first time in Cuba's history. All profits from industry now go to the government, not to absentee owners in the United States. It now enables Castro to reduce the rents of the workers 50% with the money that used to go to American investors.

E. H.

Seven came up

LAKEWOOD, CALIF.

Enclosed is $7 collected at a house affair honoring the GUARDIAN's twelfth anniversary. We are sorry it's not more, but will try again!

Ruth P. Koshuk

Ten Years Ago in the Guardian

LAST WEEK END THE ADA threw off the mask of liberalism and, in the presence of notable New Dealers, so-called labor leaders and professional "liberals," came out flatly for the re-arming of Germany.

A year ago people were shocked when James Carey of the CIO said he would join with Fascists to fight Communism. The ADA's statement last weekend showed that Carey's remark was no mere figure of speech but the inevitable conclusion for those who hitch themselves to the bipartisan foreign policy.

I don't waste tears over the prostitution of the ADA. It is headed by a collection of professional weepers for lost liberalism who have become camp-followers of the bipartisan war crowd But there are a lot of people, unfortunately, who were taken in by the ADA leaders, or at least their names; and it is the job of progressives, as well as all others who love America, to challenge these as liberal leaders—and in their home base.

—Vito Marcantonio in the National Guardian, Feb. 28, 1951

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Vol. 13, No. 20 401 February 27, 1961

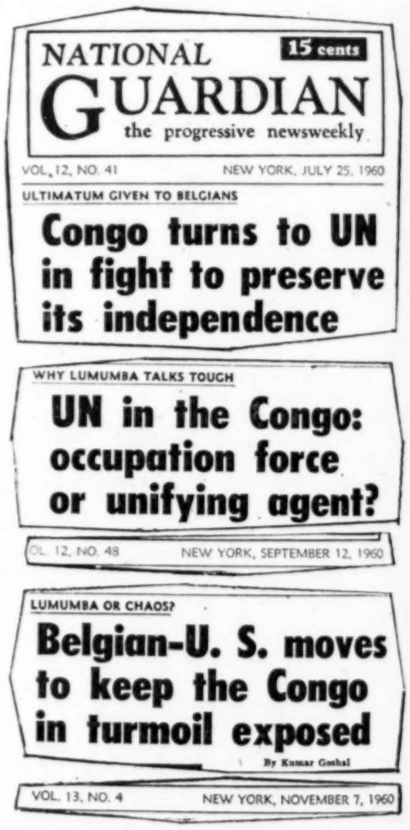
REPORT TO READERS

Assignment in Africa

IF ONE REPORTER'S UNCEASING EFFORT can do the job, the readers of this weekly newspaper have been kept more fully informed and forewarned on the ominous march of events in the Congo than any other appreciable group of people in our country—through the reporting and analysis of our world affairs editor, Kumar Goshal.

We say this now not simply to pat a colleague on the back, but more importantly, to preface an announcement of importance.

As soon as possible, but not later than the early spring of this year, Kumar Goshal will go to Africa on assignment for the GUARDIAN for a period of up to three months to report from there as a roving correspondent. On his return he plans to write a book based on his observations. A widely-traveled expert on world affairs, Goshal has written several books, one of which, **People in Colonies**, is a standard reference in libraries everywhere.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VOL. 12, NO. 41 NEW YORK, JULY 25, 1960
ULTIMATUM GIVEN TO BELGIANS
Congo turns to UN in fight to preserve its independence
WHY LUMUMBA TALKS TOUGH
UN in the Congo: occupation force or unifying agent?
VOL. 12, NO. 48 NEW YORK, SEPTEMBER 12, 1960
LUMUMBA OR CHAOS?
Belgian-U. S. moves to keep the Congo in turmoil exposed
By Kumar Goshal
VOL. 13, NO. 4 NEW YORK, NOVEMBER 7, 1960

OUR HOPE of sending Goshal to Africa was broached in our annual letter last month to subscribers. It flowed naturally from our statement of last Sep. 26, when the press attack on Congo's Premier Lumumba and Cuba's Premier Castro reached full cry as the UN General Assembly convened for its 15th regular session. That statement said:

"The Congo—and Cuba, closer to home—are the touchstones by which to test the policy of nations today. The right of a nation to be master of its own house is the issue. The interference of other nations to withhold that right may be the determining factor in the question of peace or war. The need for honest reporting and interpretation of the news—to help people determine right from wrong—has never been more imperative."

As an immediate move to bring honest reporting and interpretation to GUARDIAN readers from these "touchstone" areas, Cedric Belfrage last fall prepared to base himself in Havana, where he has now been since early December. Goshal's assignment in Africa is a second such move.

That we need the extra help of every reader to make these moves effective—to enable Goshal to travel freely through the troubled areas of Africa, and Belfrage those of Latin-America—is a fact of our kind of newspapering that every reader understands, as the response thus far to our letter of last month indicates. In deciding on Goshal's assignment now, we have permitted ourselves to believe that the continued inflow of this help will be the concern of every reader who has not thus far responded.

TO DETAIL THE SCOPE of our coverage of African affairs alone in recent months would require a volume. Goshal's reportage and analysis, supplemented by reports by Dr. W.E.B. Du Bois from Ghana and Nigeria, have appeared in at least 25 issues of the GUARDIAN since last June 30, when the Congo declared its independence of Belgium. Before July was out, GUARDIAN readers knew the stakes in the Congo, the intention of Belgian interests to move back in behind Belgian arms, the presence of Rockefeller interests in the background of Union Miniere du Haut Katanga.

It is a sordid story, but the end is not yet, nor has all the truth of it been told. It is this truth we seek, through our Assignment in Africa.

—THE GUARDIAN

800 AT WASHINGTON WORKSHOP

Attack launched on jimcrow in government and unions

By Joanne Grant
Guardian staff correspondent

WASHINGTON

EIGHT HUNDRED Negro workers and community leaders from 20 states gathered in Washington, D.C., Feb. 17-18 to hear a dozen distinguished speakers, a panel of race relations experts and two dozen witnesses present evidence of discrimination against Negro workers in industry, government and trade unions. The occasion was a Workshop on Discrimination, sponsored by the Negro American Labor Council, held at the Metropolitan Baptist Church.

The Workshop asked President Kennedy to issue an executive order for a "nation-wide crash program for the training of skilled workers" and a guarantee that Federal assistance would go only to non-discriminatory programs. It also called on President Kennedy and president George Meany of the AFL-CIO "to issue a clarion call to the government, the workers and management to respect, recognize and support the God-given right of every human being, regardless of race or color, to earn a living in the sweat of his brow."

AFL-CIO HIT: Designed to "dramatize to the nation the current practices of discrimination and segregation in labor, industry and government" the Workshop made the AFL-CIO the main target of attack. Nearly every witness who testified was from an AFL-CIO union which discriminates. Nearly every speaker criticized AFL-CIO leadership for "dragging its feet" on the problem. Even in the collection, Rev. E. F. Jackson said: "Freedom costs. You can't fight the AFL-CIO with nothing. It costs money."

In his keynote address A. Philip Randolph, NALC president and an AFL-CIO vice president, said the NALC favors an

Tapley, Amsterdam News, New York
No way out!

alliance between the NAACP and the AFL-CIO, but that it would keep the "conscience of the AFL-CIO disturbed through continuous criticism of its obvious failure forthrightly to come to grips with the moral issue of race bias . . ."

A statement of policy blasted the AFL-CIO and its affiliates for failure to use their authority against the exclusion of Negro youth from apprenticeship training, the exclusion of Negroes from union membership, jimcrow locals and jimcrow seniority systems which keep Negroes in menial and unskilled job classifications. The Workshop adopted a "Code of Fair Racial Trade Union Practice" to be presented to the AFL-CIO executive council meeting in Bal Harbour, Fla., Feb. 20.

SIX-MONTH DEADLINE: The proposals against racism in labor include:

- Integration of all local unions and an end to exclusion of non-white workers from membership within the next six months.
- Elimination by all unions of "nepotism and cronyism" in the selection of workers for apprenticeship training programs and an open door for all youth regardless of race or color.
- Election of Negroes to policy-making bodies at all union levels, appointment of an additional Negro to the AFL-CIO executive council; integration of AFL-CIO headquarters staff in Washington, and appointment of additional Negroes to the Civil Rights Committee.
- Reorganization of the Civil Rights Dept. with additional professional and office personnel, and appointment of a native white Southerner to work in the South, with an additional Negro trade unionist and a Negro director.

FEDERAL JIMCROW: At a press conference Randolph charged that President Kennedy has continued a pattern of discrimination against Negroes in Federal jobs and said the Federal government is the "chief offender" in discriminatory employment practices. The Workshop made six proposals for Federal action.

Noting that "about 70% of all Negro government employes are concentrated in the lower sub-professional job classifications," the Workshop recommended that President Kennedy issue an executive order for an investigation of promotion and upgrading on government jobs.

Other recommendations to the Federal government were:

- Strict enforcement of non-discrimination clauses by Federal government contracting agencies and power to terminate, amend or refuse contracts for any failure to comply.
- Examination of employment policies of all departments.
- An investigation of the administration of Federal Civil Service rules that "invite discrimination by allowing choice of any of the top three applicants." The resolution noted that "exceptions to the 'rule of three' make it possible to avoid hiring a Negro even when all three top candidates are Negro."
- Granting of White House authority to the President's Committee on Government Employment Policy. The resolution said the Committee had found no discrimination in 53 of 63 cases referred to it in one 18-month period, and added: "A White House-sponsored program can effectively question why large sections of some departments are all-white."

STRONG TALK: A Friday evening rally was attended by 2,000 and heard Randolph, Rep. Adam Clayton Powell and Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. Powell said: "It is time for the New Frontier to include black men as well as white men. Black faces must be seen sitting by Mr. Stevenson at the UN." He called the NALC the "answer to Mr. George Meany

Stockett, Baltimore Afro-American

and to America" and said: "In the skilled crafts we find that there is not a single craft where the number of Negro workers reaches 2% of the total employed. In fact, in Mr. George Meany's own union, the Plumbers and Pipe Fitters, out of 11,000 now undergoing training only 90 are Negroes, or less than 1%."

Rev. King called the Federal government "the highest investor in segregation and discrimination" and said it "has not up to now given the leadership adequate to meet the problem." Among the excuses given, Rev. King said, is inability to legislate morals, "but behavior can be regulated. It may be true that the law can't make a man love me, but it can keep him from lynching me."

WITNESSES SPEAK: Witnesses told of discrimination by such unions as the Intl. Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks, Intl. Moulders and Foundry Workers, Seafarers Intl. Union, United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, Bricklayers Local 41, and the Intl. Assn. of Fire Fighters. All testified to restrictions in membership, hiring policies, promotion or admittance to apprenticeship training programs and many discussed methods which have been devised to fight back.

Asfield Grant of the moulders union said he had helped form a Committee to Secure Equitable Treatment for Negro Members. Out of 120,000 members in his union nearly 80,000 are Negroes, but there are no Negroes on the union's executive board. S. B. Stout of Chicago said that Negro workers had picketed the union hall of the Intl. Hodcarriers, Builders and Common Laborers.

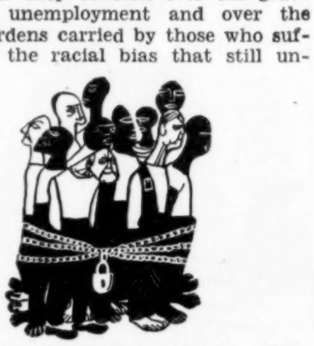
Railroad worker William Henderson, Waycross, Ga., said he had helped form a Survival Club to fight for retention of Negroes' jobs. The number of Negro railway firemen has been reduced from 85% to 2%, Henderson said, and there are no Negroes in the firemen's union. Negroes are not admitted to 23 out of 28 railroad crafts, he said.

OVATIONS: Standing ovations greeted two witnesses, John McFerren and Mrs. Georgia Turner of Fayette County, Tenn. McFerren heads the Fayette County Civic and Welfare League which is engaged in a drive to register Negro voters. Both are victims of a white economic boycott aimed at starving registered Negroes out of the County. Mrs. Turner's son-in-law was shot last month just after the family had moved into "Freedom Village," a tent city set up to house Negroes evicted after they voted.

McFerren made a plea for funds to enable the Negroes to withstand the boycott. "With enough outside help we will break the economic squeeze," he said. "The white merchants already cannot pay their notes on their fine cars; they cannot meet their notes on their fine homes. When the Negro cuts off his dollar the sword cuts two ways." McFerren said that Negro landowners need $100,000 to pay money due on machinery and mortgages, and loans are needed for the coming planting season. He said 152 persons are now living in tents.

Other speakers at the Workshop included Herbert Hill, NAACP labor secretary; Julius Thomas, Natl. Urban League director of industrial relations; Thurgood Marshall, and Elmer A. Carter, chairman of the New York State Commission Against Discrimination.

GREETINGS: A wire from President Kennedy to the Workshop said: "I fully share your deep concern over the grave issue of unemployment and over the added burdens carried by those who suffer from the racial bias that still un-



happily remains in our midst . . . You can be sure that we are aware of the serious impact of the recession upon all groups in this country. Public support of the measures we are taking to bring full employment will greatly assist our effort."

Secretary of Labor Arthur J. Goldberg, who arrived only after Randolph insisted that he would not accept an assistant as a last-minute substitute, told the Workshop his department would be "color blind" and that "national housekeeping would be put in order." He pointed out that Negroes "suffer the highest unemployment rate in the nation." "Last month," he said, "that rate stood at 13.8%, as opposed to one of only 7% for white workers. Non-whites comprised fully 20% of all of our unemployed during January." He said labor legislation offered by the Administration would help relieve the Negroes' plight, and that measures like minimum wage legislation are "as much a part of our civil rights as what is labeled as such."

PRICE OF FREEDOM: Many speakers were militant in their demand for freedom now, and several pointed out that Negroes themselves had to carry the fight. Randolph said: "He who would be free must himself first strike the blow; freedom is not free. It must be paid for; it must be fought for; it must be won."

Many spoke of the importance of the independence movements of Africa and Asia and of the solidarity of American Negroes with Africans. At the close of the rally there was a moment of silence in honor of Patrice Lumumba.

There was criticism of "white liberals" who caution Negroes to make haste slowly. Fighting words got rousing receptions, but in the corridors there were complaints from delegates about the lack of an NALC program, the failure to provide for audience participation in the Workshop, and the meagerness of official trade union representation.

THE BOSS' BOYCOTT IS BROKEN

Powell serves notice on Meany

Special to the Guardian

WASHINGTON

A MEETING of all labor legislative representatives called together on Feb. 3 by House Education and Labor Committee chairman Adam Clayton Powell (D-N.Y.) was boycotted by AFL-CIO president George Meany. Meany said he would not sit down with representatives of the Teamsters Union who had also been invited.

Despite Meany's stand, nine AFL-CIO unions attended. They were the Steelworkers, Retail Clerks, Communications Workers, Butchers, Transport, Building Service, Maritime, Boilermakers and Shipyard. Also represented were the AFL- CIO Industrial Union Department and the AFL-CIO Building Trades Dept. The UAW, IUE, Amalgamated Clothing, ILGWU, Machinists, IBEW and Textile unions were among the boycotters. Independent unions represented besides the Teamsters were the United Mine Workers, Plant Guards, International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, and the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America.

Powell and two of his principal subcommittee chairmen, John Dent (D-Pa.) and Elmer Holland (D-Pa.) described the Labor Committee's legislative plans. Powell emphasized that as far as the House Labor Committee is concerned "no one person can speak for labor . . . there are not going to be any more claims by one person that he or she is the voice of labor . . ." The significance of this declaration was not only that Powell would deal with independent unions on an "equal rights" basis, but that he would deal with individual AFL-CIO unions, and not with the AFL-CIO headquarters alone.

The three Congressmen deplored the lack of unity in labor's legislative work in recent years and attributed to it many defeats for the trade unions in Congress.

Meany's boycott effort recalled his attack on Powell as a "racist" and an "irresponsible Congressman" when it first became clear that Powell would replace Dixiecrat Graham Barden (D-N.C.) as chairman of the House Labor Committee.

Kennedy's approach

(Continued from Page 1)

vigorously advocated a much stronger bill as an AFL-CIO lawyer just before entering the Kennedy Cabinet.

WHAT THE BILL DOES: Kennedy's bill would raise the existing $1-an-hour Federal minimum wage to $1.15 in 1961, $1.20 in 1962 and $1.25 in 1963. Republicans seek to limit the increase to $1.15. The Administration bill would put 4.3 million more workers under the law's protection and give them a $1.25 an hour wage and a 40-hour standard work week by 1964. The GOP would add only 3 million to the wage and hour law coverage. The AFL-CIO favors an immediate $1.25 an hour minimum and coverage for 11 million more workers.

In 1959 as a Senator, Kennedy was the author of S-1046 to provide a $1.25 minimum wage immediately and cover 8 million more workers. The watered-down Kennedy proposal of 1961 accepts most of the compromises forced by business opponents of wage-hour improvements during the last Congress. Powell objected to this approach by President Kennedy and said "legislation should be introduced at the maximum." This would insure that compromises do not cut too deep, and that

Eccles London Daily Worker

The giant of Wall Street

the responsibility for forced compromises would fall on those who brought them about.

THE APPROACH: Kennedy's acceptance of compromise in advance on minimum wages typifies the new Administration's approach on domestic economic matters. At least at this stage, the President's apparent strategy is to disarm the opposition by concessions before they are sought. To a large degree this means that the watering down of social and economic legislation—justified in the last Congress by Senate Majority Leader Lyndon B. Johnson as necessary to avoid or override an Eisenhower veto—is being justified now by President Kennedy as necessary to achieve action by Congress.

The President is reported as being engaged in much quiet lobbying with Congressional leaders to gain Senate and House approval of his program. Certainly there is no campaign for action by Congress remotely comparable to the famous "100 days" of the Roosevelt New Deal, and the President is relying on behind-the-scenes maneuvers rather than on a popular crusade.

The **Wall Street Journal** (Feb. 17) described the situation thus:

"Kennedy compromises in major proposals to Congress. Liberals fret. The President deliberately holds down medical care, education plans. His step-by-step minimum wage boost represents clear retreat. Aides maintain Kennedy simply cuts back to what he can reasonably expect to get without a good fight . . . Union chiefs, liberal Democrats in Congress charge Kennedy 'overcompromises.' They demand: Why fight so hard for so little? Sen. Morse, Congressmen Roosevelt, Powell resent abandonment of an immediate $1.25 pay floor. Some labor leaders complain Kennedy pulls punches in recession fighting. Senate liberals claim he seeks little more than the principle of Federal education aid."

GOP DILEMMA: Republican politicians are having a hard time finding a handle to attack the Kennedy legislative proposals. After some semantic idiocy on whether or not to call "it" a recession, Senate Minority Leader Everett M. Dirksen (R-Ill.) and House Minority Leader Charles A. Halleck (R-Ind.) now charge that the Administration may move the country from recession to depression by exaggerated gloom-and-doom talk. But at their joint press conference Feb. 16 Dirksen and Halleck had no serious objections to most of the President's "so-called anti-recession measures."

Here's how the President's program looked, a month after Inauguration and seven weeks after Congress convened:

Temporary Unemployment Compensation: The Kennedy proposal to spur the states voluntarily to extend the duration of employment benefits by 50 per cent is virtually the same as the limited plan put over in 1958 by the Dixiecrat-GOP coalition. The only controversy of consequence is over the Administration's plan to increase the employer's tax to pay the costs, and Labor Secretary Goldberg has already given the green light to a compromise on this "favorable to business." The 1958 TUC plan was passed by 372 to 17 in the House and 80 to 0 in the Senate. Kennedy's current TUC proposal is so limited that it too will be virtually unopposed. The desirable Administration bill, HR 3865 (Mills, D-Ark.), to permit needy children of unemployed to receive Social Security Public Assistance, is similarly so restricted that virtually unanimous passage is expected.

In 1958 President Eisenhower, Senator Kennedy and House Democratic leaders all advocated Temporary Unemployment Compensation benefits much more far-reaching than the present proposals. President Kennedy has promised to present a program for Federal standards providing uniform improvements in all aspects of the Unemployment Insurance System. If pushed, unlike the TUC proposal, this will meet serious employer opposition.

Aid to Depressed Areas: In 1958 and in 1959 President Eisenhower vetoed legislation to provide low-cost loans and Federal aid to chronically distressed areas. President Kennedy has requested such legislation. His program is contained in S-1, introduced by Sen. Paul Douglas (D-Ill.) with 39 Democrats and four Republicans as co-sponsors. Republican leaders have introduced similar legislation on a smaller scale and with less Federal participation.

The Administration's depressed areas bill (S-1) has been drastically revised to meet Republican objections. The Administration allowed such a tight spending and loan limitation—$114 million up to July 1, 1962—that little financial aid will be allotted to any one distressed area. Criteria for qualification have been tightened and aid to rural areas limited.

S-1 would create a special agency to administer the Depressed Areas program to keep it free of the business-oriented Commerce Dept. On Jan. 19, AFL-CIO legislative director Andrew J. Biemiller testified that Commerce Dept. control would be "catastrophic." Now Kennedy has said he favors control by the Commerce Dept. headed by South Carolina industrialist Luther Hodges.

Federal Aid To Education: In planning the President's program for aid to education, House and Senate liberals who are veterans in the aid-to-education fight were ignored until the last minute by Health, Education and Welfare Secretary Abraham Ribicoff. When they saw the plans they were aghast at its deficiencies.

Although the Senate in 1960 passed an aid-to-education bill providing $900 million yearly assistance, the Administration program presented in a Special Message Feb. 20, called for only $766 million a year. The President's own task force called for more than $1 billion a year. President Kennedy asked for (1) grants to states of $2,298,000,000 over three years for elementary and secondary school construction and teacher salaries; (2) grants of $577,525,000 over five years for 212,500 college scholarships; (3) loans of $1,500,000 for a five-year program to aid college construction; and (4) expansion of an existing program to provide $1,250,000,000 in loans to colleges over five years to build housing for students and faculty.

Medical Care for the Aged: On Feb. 9 Kennedy sent to Congress a Special Message on Health and Hospital Care for the Aged under the Social Security system. With a small increase in the Social Security tax, the Administration bills—HR-4222 (King, D-Calif.) and S-909 (Anderson, D-N. Mex.)—would provide protection against the cost of inpatient hospital, outpatient hospital, nursing home, and home health services for persons 65 years of age and over who receive Social Security benefits. It lacks some of the benefits of the original Forand bill: it does not cover surgical care or drugs; requires patient payment of the initial $90 hospital care, and sets up further benefit limits.

The Administration bill would, however, take the basic step toward Social Security old-age care. The American Medical Assn. has declared all-out war against it. The chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, Wilbur Mills (D-Ark.), refused Kennedy's request to sponsor the bill or even to give it a routine introduction without implying support. The Mills opposition in the closely-divided committee is a serious obstacle.

On Feb. 16 the three Democrats on the Senate Special Subcommittee on Problems of the Aged recommended a program of old-age health protection much broader than Kennedy's. Senators McNamara, Joseph S. Clark (D-Pa.), and Jennings Randolph (D-W.Va.) urged medical care for 2.8 million needy aged not covered by Social Security and elimination of initial charges before benefits are received.

Nixon to speak for Foreign Born in L.A. on March 25

RUSS NIXON, legislative representative for the United Electrical Workers and GUARDIAN contributor, will be the keynote speaker at the 11th annual Conference for the Protection of Foreign Born on Saturday, March 25, from 11 a.m. to 5 p.m., at the Park Manor, 607 So. Western Ave., Los Angeles.

They couldn't make the Governor see red

Lewis, Milwaukee Journal

"Of course, having one man do it all, you get quick 'justice'."

OPPOSITION to the House Committee on Un-American Activities snowballs this way:

On Jan. 2 an advertisement signed by 346 prominent Americans appeared in the Washington **Post** as a call to Congress to abolish the committee. On Jan. 24 committee chairman Francis Walter said some of the signers were Communists and followers of the Moscow line. An Associated Press reporter in Wisconsin checked the Wisconsin signers and found that one was Mrs. Esther Kaplan, personal secretary to Gov. Gaylord Nelson. Was she a Communist? the Governor was asked.

The Governor replied with a blast against Walter and the committee which said that such an attack on protestors was "irresponsible and unwarranted." The Governor said: "It is my opinion that the critics of this committee were right; it should be abolished," The Governor said he would call on Wisconsin Congressmen to work for elimination of the committee.

On Feb. 1 three Wisconsin dailies, the Milwaukee **Journal**, the Madison **Capital Times** and the Sheboygan **Press** attacked the committee editorially.

The dollar and domestic business

The following letter by Cleveland industrialist Cyrus Eaton appeared in the New York Times of Feb. 7:

THE TWO CRUCIAL economic problems that call for the new Administration's immediate attention are the state of the American dollar in international markets and the state of the nation's domestic business. Both problems are subject to quick solution by decisive action.

The United States can swiftly and simply stop the drain on the dollar by cutting off foreign military expense and foreign financial aid. Conversely, we cannot maintain a sound dollar if at the same time we undertake to feed, educate and police all of the world's more than a hundred nations.

An immediate and drastic reduction in taxes is the sure single step required to end the current sharp recession.

The extent of the domestic business decline is graphically illustrated by the steel industry, with which I am familiar. It is operating at the alarming rate of less than 50 per cent of capacity.

Since our so-called defense expenditures are at an all-time peak of almost $50 billion per annum, we must conclude that armaments contracts bring more burdens by way of taxation than benefits by way of profits. Both the individual and the corporation must have tax relief.

A capitalist economy cannot endure, let alone flourish, under the confiscatory taxes that now obtain.

—Cyrus S. Eaton

GROWERS TRY TO USE BRACEROS AS STRIKEBREAKERS

Vigilante spirit still blocks organization in Imperial Valley

THE BLESSINGS of the welfare state have thus far eluded the itinerant farm worker. For the families who follow the crops from valley to valley, from state to state, John Steinbeck's grapes of wrath are still the basic diet.

The migrant is deprived of unemployment insurance, social security, minimum wage guarantees, vacations, holidays and other benefits most workers accept as normal. His family lacks the security of a permanent home. His children get little or no schooling. In 1959, the average annual income of migrant workers was $710.

Whenever the migrants have banded together to improve their lot, their efforts have been met with violence and subterfuge from the big farmers and their bought aides in government office.

HARSH VALLEY: Nowhere have the migrants been treated more shabbily than in the rich Imperial Valley in southern California. When the Wobblies (Industrial Workers of the World) tried to organize farm hands shortly after World War I, they were driven from the valley by police and vigilantes. Nearly 100 went to jail.

A strike in the winter of 1929-30 was broken by mass arrests and deportations. Eight strike leaders were convicted under a state criminal sydicalism law and sentenced on three counts to from one to 14 years in prison, the sentences to run consecutively. The judge wrote to the parole board that anything short of a life term for the men would be moderate. An appeals court reversed two of the three counts and the sentences were finally fixed at five years with one year on parole.

Since then the valley has defied union organization. In recent years the migrants have found a new threat in the braceros—Mexican nationals imported under contract during harvest time. The bracero program was instituted during World War II to overcome a domestic labor shortage. Under agreements between the governments, U.S. farmers may bring braceros across the border for six-month periods if they can certify that domestic labor is not available. The braceros are supposed to be paid "prevailing wages" set by state labor boards.

THE GROWERS WIN: The program has worked to the disadvantage of the braceros and the U.S. field workers. The braceros are herded into labor camps to live and work in misery. Their wages are often less than prevailing and after deductions for meals and insurance, they have little left to take home. In some cases they are cheated even of this.

To get away with this the big farmers have needed a wink from state farm-labor officials. An investigation in California in 1959 turned up extensive graft. The assistant chief of the state's Farm Employment Service was fired on charges of accepting bribes from farmers. The farm placement supervisor for San Diego and Imperial counties resigned "with prejudice" while his office was under investigation.

Every morning striking farmers distribute leaflets at "The Hole," a staging area for Mexican casuals in Calexico on the border. Here they hold up signs to the Mexicans: "We Walk Together, We Will Win," "The Ranchers Are Unjust" and "85 Cents An Hour Is Not A Wage." Many of the strikers are Mexican-Americans.

The Committee for Protection of Mexican Workers in Imperial Valley charged that the farmers were making a $1-a-day profit per bracero on overcharges for meals and many braceros were suffering from food poisoning. But the committee got few results from its protests. Committee chairman Dr. Benjamin Yellin explained the failures in a letter to the U.S. Asst. Secy. of Labor on Aug. 1, 1959: "We have found that when we sent the Labor Dept. in Washington, D.C., complaints giving the names and numbers of imported Mexican workers, that your local Dept. of Labor men were tipping off the camp operators. These camp operators would then discharge the workers so that when the local Dept. of Labor men showed up at the camp, there was no laborer to interview. Of course, you realize that your local Dept. of Labor men are not doing this for nothing."

A NEW USE: For the migrant, the bracero has been an unwelcome competitor for his meager existence. Because the bracero is even more easily exploited, he is used even when domestic labor is available and the bracero program has generally depressed wage rates.

Currently the big lettuce farmers have found a new use for braceros as unwitting strike-breakers against a union organizing drive. After several abortive attempts, the AFL-CIO Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee and the United Packinghouse Workers set out in 1959 to organize farm hands in California. After a series of strikes last year, the unions succeeded in raising minimum wages to $1.25 an hour in many orchards and fields in northern California.

This year they moved on the lettuce farms in Imperial Valley. Last month 90 lettuce cutters struck the Bruce Church Ranch. Since then 14 other large ranches have been picketed. Although there are 500,000 unemployed in California and Gov. Pat Brown reported "there are some indications of some malnutrition," 8,000 braceros have been imported to harvest the lettuce crop. Of these, 2,000 work on the struck ranches. There are 3,000 domestic workers in the valley; the unions claim to have recruited 1,000.

A PICKET LINE OUTSIDE A BRACERO CAMP
At one such line 36 strikers were arrested

THE DEMANDS: The strikers ask for an increase in the minimum wage from 90c to $1.25 an hour, union recognition and removal of braceros from struck ranches. They are mostly from minority groups—Mexican-Americans, Indians and Negroes.

Nearly 80% of the nation's winter lettuce supply is produced in the Imperial Valley. The crop is valued at $20,000,000. The unions estimate that almost half of this is profit. Harvesting is usually completed by mid-March.

With the high stakes, the large farmers have played rough. A GUARDIAN correspondent in El Centro reports: "Ranchers, foremen, labor contractors and bus drivers have been deputized and authorized to carry guns." Sheriff Herbert Hughes has deputized 600 growers and sympathizers.

Theopolus Napalena, one of the strikers, was picked up in town by three policemen, driven into the country, beaten and dumped into an irrigation ditch waist-deep. When another striker was picketing, six horsemen approached swinging lassos and ordered him to drop his sign and get moving. He was saved by a group of strikers.

ORDERLY STRIKE: Against the violence and intimidation the unions have kept an orderly strike. At 3 a.m. each morning, strikers drive to Calexico on the Mexican border. At a staging area called "The Hole" for casual Mexican laborers—those without contracts who shape up for temporary jobs— the strikers pass out leaflets in Spanish urging the Mexicans to **sientense**, sit down and stay away from struck ranches.

More than 500 strikers staged a sit-down demonstration outside Danenberg labor camp Feb. 3 to bar trucks from taking braceros to struck ranches. Armed deputies tried to break the line without success. Strike leaders were arrested but they were released on bail and returned to the sit-down. About 35 braceros climbed over the fence and joined the strikers.

Later at another bracero camp, 36 strikers were arrested on assault charges for allegedly molesting the Mexicans. As a result, the Mexican government asked Secy. of Labor Arthur Goldberg to withdraw all braceros from struck farms. The strikers cheered because removal of the braceros could signal their victory. But after some delay Goldberg ordered only 600 withdrawn.

TIME RUNNING OUT: The strikers received another jolt Feb. 10 when Sheriff Hughes and 15 deputies broke down the door to union headquarters in El Centro and arrested 44 men. Of the scores of strike leaders arrested, released and re-arrested, 33 remain in jail because the unions cannot raise $7,875 bail for each. They are charged with criminal conspiracy to riot, burn and commit assault.

On Feb. 14 a union delegation met with the Mexican Consul General in Los Angeles to demand that the remaining braceros be removed from the struck ranches. The Committee to Advance the Valley Economy got 2,000 signatures in a week on a petition in support of the strikers. Copies were sent to Gov. Brown and Goldberg.

Time is running out for the strikers. If the lettuce crop is harvested, the strike will have been lost. They ask persons in sympathy to write to Labor Secy. Goldberg and Mexican Ambassador Antonio Carillo Flores in Washington urging the withdrawal of braceros. Contributions may be sent to strike headquarters at Labor Temple, 209 N. 7th St., El Centro, Calif.

Tagore play in New York marks centennial of birth

THIS YEAR most countries of the world are celebrating the 100th anniversary of the birth of India's great poet, novelist, essayist and dramatist, Rabindranath Tagore. In cooperation with American admirers of the poet, Indians living in the U.S. are observing the anniversary by presenting his play, **King of the Dark Chamber**, at the Jan Hus House, 351 E. 74th St., New York City. The play has an international cast, and is presented in classical Indian form, combining speech, mime, song and dance. The play opened Feb. 9.

Tagore was born May 6, 1861. He was a Nobel Prize winner, a friend of Gandhi, a nationalist who renounced the knighthood bestowed on him by Britain in protest against British rule. **King of the Dark Chamber** is considered to be one of his best plays. It is being presented by Van Joyce and Harold Leventhal in association with Patricia Newhall.

BEN GURION'S DUBIOUS VICTORY

Lavon's ouster may force Israel election

By Ursula Wassermann
Guardian staff correspondent

TEL AVIV

THE OUSTER of Pinhas Lavon as secretary-general of the Histadrut (General Federation of Labor) did not end the "Affair," but sent it into a new phase in which men will fight not only for the ultimate succession to power but for the soul of Israel's leading party, Mapai.

After the Cabinet approved a unanimous decision of the Ministerial Committee of Seven absolving Lavon of any responsibility for a "security mishap" some six years ago, Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion, by offering his resignation, forced his own party to choose between him and Lavon. Under such pressure, the Mapai Central Committee on Feb. 4 voted to remove Lavon as head of the Histadrut. But the vote was much closer than most observers here had expected; almost two-fifths withstood the steamroller.

With 159 voting for Lavon's ouster, 96 voted against, including such prominent personalities as former Prime Minister Moshe Sharett; Minister of Commerce and Industry Pinhas Sapir; Aharon Becker, head of the Histadrut's Trade Union Department; and Yehuda Gothelf, head of the Labor Federation's Cultural Department. Gothelf, in fact, resigned together with Lavon.

REVENGE CHARGED: The fact that such a substantial minority withstood the "Old Man's" threats is a clear indication that the party's internal conflicts are far from solved. After the vote, the Jerusalem Committee of Students for Democracy charged that Lavon's ouster was intended "to satisfy the craving for revenge of the man who has proven that he is the sole ruler of the State." The manifesto added that "elimination" of Lavon was effected to clear the way for "his so-called young supporters' rise to power" and that "after Lavon, other personalities will be eliminated."

Lavon had refused to resign of his own accord. "Should a man such as I flee?" he had asked in the words of Nehemiah. He had found articulate support within the Central Committee by such spokesmen as Professor Rotenstreich (one of the original signers of the Manifesto of Intellectuals protesting the Prime Minister's methods) and Sharett. Rotenstreich observed that Lavon was being discarded because of personal and temperamental differences with his opponents, not for ideological or political reasons.

Sharett questioned a Prime Minister's right to impose his will on an institution outside the government. "He may ask for an inquiry but may not force one by threatening to resign. It is like saying that a Prime Minister will resign if he does not like the State Controller chosen by the **Knesset** (Parliament)." Sharett noted "regretfully" that the party was guided "not by honor and justice but by fear and expediency. Such conduct will bring the party neither honor nor strength."

LABOR OPPOSED: Five days later, on Feb. 9, Pinhas Lavon, during one of the stormiest meetings ever held by the Histadrut executive, tendered his resignation. It was accepted by 58 of the Mapai faction's 59 votes and opposed by 46 votes of all the remaining parties (the Mapai faction had been instructed to vote en bloc under threat of expulsion; the missing vote was presumably that of Gothelf).

In his farewell speech, Lavon never referred to his resignation but only to his "being ousted." He said: "I leave you in the full knowledge that the masses of workers have not deserted me and do not bear any responsibility for this decision . . . Forty percent of Mapai members dissociated themselves from this decision and today's vote proves that the vast majority of organized labor opposes my being ousted . . . I took up my fight against an injustice, done to me six years ago, which was basically a personal matter but by its clarification brought to light many weaknesses in our public life." "Since when," he asked, "has the revealing of weak points in our public life become a heinous matter?"

Opposition speakers constantly referred to "Mapai's attempt to transform the Histadrut into a department of the Prime Minister's office." Y. Talmi of Mapam charged "Ben-Gurion and his clique with preparing an onslaught on the Histadrut. They will dismiss others besides Lavon." Dr. E. Rimalt of the General Zionists charged Mapai with wanting to make the secretary-general the commissioner of a small clique of its leaders. Mrs. E. Wilenska for the Communists charged that "Ben-Gurion and his militaristic clique have ousted Lavon as part of their plot to impose their will on the Knesset and Cabinet Ministers."

COSTLY VICTORY: Thus while the fight continues, both within Mapai and the labor movement as a whole, the country is without a government. Most parties today are opposed to entering a new coalition under Ben-Gurion, and several former Mapai ministers, including Foreign Minister Golda Meir and Minister of Commerce Pinhas Sapir, are reluctant to serve once again under the iron fist of the "Old Man." As the pro-government Jerusalem **Post** put it, the alternative for Mapai may lie between Ben-Gurion and new elections.

Ben-Gurion will presumably be able to form a government without the left-wing labor parties: a narrow coalition based on Mapai and the religious parties only and, possibly, the small Progressive Party. However, in view of the deep split within Mapai, such a government would be seriously handicapped.

With the ouster of Pinhas Lavon, Ben-Gurion has obtained his pound of flesh; but the struggle, which the French compare to the Dreyfus Affair, has cost him possibly tens of thousands of votes in any new election.

For the first time, public opinion, Right, Left and—independent, is vocally objecting to the iron fist in the none-too-velvety glove.

PINHAS LAVON
'The workers have not deserted me'

HUNTING FOR WITCHES

Braden stand uncovers three Florida spies

Special to the Guardian

TALLAHASSEE

THE FLORIDA Legislative Investigation Committee was forced to expose three spies in the integration movement when Carl Braden of Louisville refused to testify before the committee recently.

Those exposed were Mrs. C. C. Collins and Ernest M. Salley of De Land, Fla., and Mrs. Mary Mueller, Mobile, Ala., formerly of Tallahassee, all white. They told of attending integrationist meetings and subscribing for integration literature at the instigation of R. J. Strickland, chief investigator for the committee. Salley allowed himself to be subpenaed to the committee hearing so he could take part in consultations between Braden and his attorney beforehand.

Braden, a field secretary and director for the Southern Conference Educational Fund, New Orleans, had been subpenaed by the committee while making a speech before the Volusia County NAACP in Daytona Beach.

STATEMENT OBTAINED: When Salley asked for help, Braden offered to introduce him to Len Holt, Norfolk, Va., nationally known civil rights attorney who was to represent Braden before the committee. Holt, Braden and Salley met the night before the hearing and Salley employed Holt to represent him. At that meeting Salley obtained, along with other material, a copy of a statement Braden planned to make to the committee the next day explaining his refusal to testify.

The statement accused the committee of violating his rights under the First Amendment to the Constitution, guaranteeing freedom of speech, press, religion, association, and petition. Salley gave the statement to the committee, which then told Braden he could either answer all questions fully or not be required to testify at all. Committee chairman William G. O'Neill of Ocala told Braden: "We will put in evidence that you are interested in agitation, stirring up sit-ins, and that you have no desire to improve the position of the Negro but to further the Communist cause."

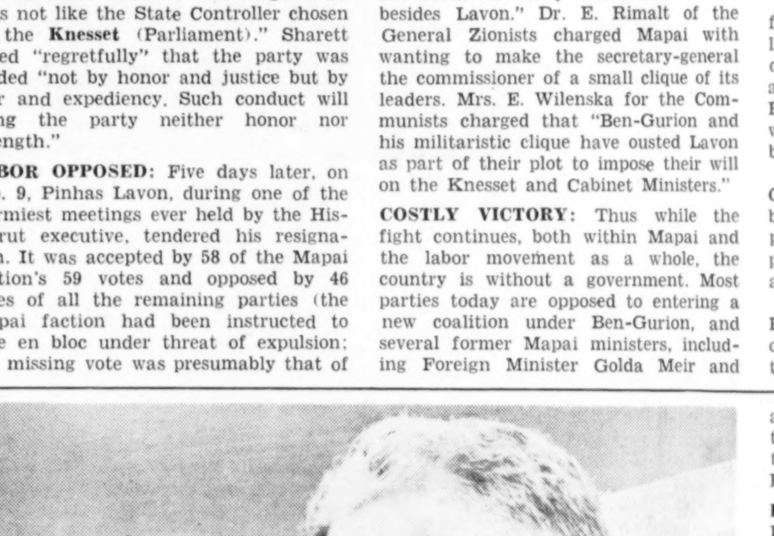


Photo by Southern Patriot
ATTORNEY LEN HOLT ADVISES CARL BRADEN AT FLORIDA HEARING
Braden's refusal to talk forced the state to reveal its informers

After conferring with Holt, Braden told the committee: "This is a somewhat unusual procedure which you have set up. I disagree with what you said. It is based on inaccuracies and false assumptions. I refuse to testify because you are violating my rights under the First Amendment."

HOW THEY OPERATED: The informers were then called to describe their work. Mrs. Collins told of attending meetings of SCEF and other groups and of receiving literature and letters which she turned over to investigator Strickland.

Salley said he attended a meeting in Orlando in March, 1960, at which a statewide committee was set up by persons and groups interested in civil rights and civil liberties. The committee was especially concerned about a group set up in Tallahassee to alert people all over Florida against repressive legislation.

Salley told how he spied on SCEF, the NAACP and the Council on Human Relations. He also made reports on peace groups. On one occasion, he took a three-hour tape recording, part of which was played for the investigating committee. The recording included a lecture by Scott Nearing.

The GUARDIAN was also cited and an article about Braden which appeared in the Feb. 6 issue was read into the record to show the "subversive" connections of Braden and the integration movement.

FACE VALUE: Reporters later asked Braden if he and SCEF were concerned about spies and informers being in groups with which they work.

Braden replied: "We never give it a thought. We are not doing anything subversive or unlawful. We take everybody at face value until they show that they are not what they say they are. We refuse to play into the hands of the segregationists by being suspicious of people. That's what they want us to do."

In his statement explaining his refusal to testify, Braden said: "I have pending in the Supreme Court an appeal by me involving these very points, and I do not feel that I should testify regarding these matters while they are under judicial consideration. This was called to the attention of your chairman when I asked for postponement of my appearance here.

"I join other victims of this committee in declaring that you are trying to hamper our work for integration under the pretext of looking for subversives. I refuse to cooperate in such an endeavor because it violates my conscience, my religious principles, and my constitutional rights.

"In other words, gentlemen, my beliefs and my associations are none of the business of this committee."

Braden refused to answer questions of the House Committee on Un-American Activities at a hearing in Atlanta, Ga., in 1958, and was sentenced to a year in jail for contempt. The Supreme Court heard his appeal last November and a decision is pending.

The Florida committee indicated that it did not plan any action against Braden.

Cuba wants a divorce

WE WERE WEDDED to the lie and bound ourselves to live with her. And so it seems to us that the world collapses when we hear the truth . . . As if it were not better for the world to collapse than that we should live with the lie!"

—Fidel Castro

THE PRESIDENT, THE PREMIER, AND BELFRAGE, TOO

All hands in Cuba harvest the 'people's sugar'

By Cedric Belfrage

HAVANA

AROUND the high-chimneyed mill of the Ruben Martinez Villena sugar central, the green wall of canes receded like a tide. In vehicles now parked along an avenue of plumed palms, the army of volunteer harvesters of "the people's sugar" had been arriving from Havana since before 6 a.m.

It was a bright spring-like Sunday and the men, women and kids sang and shouted as truck after truck lumbered off the field with the canes they cut and loaded. Resting and picnicking families lined the edge of the field.

In the front line two municipal court judges and the President and Defense Minister of Cuba, Dorticos and Raul Castro, wielded machetes expertly hour after hour; everyone was pleased, no one surprised, that they were there and that two **norteamericano** eggheads (the other one named Carl Marzani) had also turned up. Joined by the friendliness of shared work—which did no good to their pockets, only to their bodies and souls—the peasants-for-a-day from the city gave an extraordinarily convincing portrayal of happy people. Before noon, they had cut and loaded more cane than would normally be cut in a week according to local **campesinos.**

CASTRO SETS AN EXAMPLE FOR VOLUNTEERS
No one is surprised to see him cutting sugar cane

PRESIDENT DORTICOS HELPS LOAD CUT CANE
Volunteer brigades accomplished more than regular workers

EVERYBODY'S DOING IT: February's first week end saw similar scenes all over Cuba, and they will be repeated until the last cane hits the dirt. Everybody's doing it for at least one Sunday—groups organized by trade unions, army units, university faculties, luxury-hotel staffs, offices and stores . . . Guatemalan exiles led by ex-President Arbenz . . . seamen from visiting Soviet freighters . . . Why?

Not only is Cuba in a hurry for the new liberating industries which the harvest will buy, but regular sugarworkers are in short supply for the first time in history. (Formerly the four-month harvest time was all the work they had in a year; now more and more of them have joined co-op farms or are moving about the country on construction work.)

On the first week end of the volunteer campaign, an estimated 500,000 people went to the fields from Havana alone. They were asked to bring their own machetes if possible, and their food and hammocks as local hostelries would be swamped. On the Monday, the Sugarworkers Fedn. announced that 24 Camaguey province centrals, which had been harvesting and milling for a month, had already topped by more than a million the usual number of sacks of sugar at this time of year.

MYTHS PUNCTURED: In the mill, the ancient but still serviceable machinery dragged tons of cane up into its maw, pulverized and processed it, and spewed forth a mountain of sugar almost reaching the roof of the storage warehouse. Since nationalization the mill is both more efficient and more economical; the workers know what bumper production means to every Cuban and they take loving care of their own machinery.

Thus Cuba goes on its way, puncturing social and economic myths, laughing at pompous charges that it is undemocratic and un-Christian . . . and still finding time and zest for the grandiose operation of selecting a Queen for Havana's annual carnival. (First statement by the 20-year-old psychology student chosen, after coming out of the traditional swoon: "I am off to the sugarcane fields next Sunday.") Punctuated with music, dance and song, the elimination of the other 203 candidates in the Sports City stadium took until 4 a.m., the same hour at which Castro usually finishes his speeches. The ceremony was also punctuated by a nearby explosion—one of the counterrevolutionary time-bombs which go off once or twice a night somewhere in Havana.

REVERSE EFFECT: To anyone recalling London in the blitz (and this blitz is so small that most citizens are rarely if ever aware of it), nothing need be said about the effect on public morale. Fire engines and ambulances scream to the spot, there is some material and sometimes some human damage. Within a few minutes all is normal save for knots of people calling for **"Paredon!"** (death) to the terrorists. All that is achieved is that those within range are strengthened the more in their convictions and determination as against the users of such methods.

On the next night a car someone had left inside the University grounds blew up and wrecked a machine used for instruction purposes. This was presumably connected with the attempts going on for some time, fostered by the church hierarchy and inflated like a balloon in U.S. radio propaganda, to bring about a student strike against "red atheism" in education. Less than 24 hours later, the balloon was burst by a vast outpouring of Havana's school and university population, who marched in clamorous support of the revolution to the Presidential palace.

The turnout—impossible to number, but it looked like at least 50,000 to me—included groups from many private Catholic schools who risked expulsion by coming. In Cuba kids no more than adults present any "drilled" look when demonstrating, and the impression of spontaneity, inner conviction and self-discipline was strong. One hoped that Allen Dulles might get a remotely accurate report of the spirit of this young Cuban multitude, which could have no honest mind in doubt that seeds of discontent cannot grow since there is no soil. Standing their ground in a sudden downpour, the kids waved schoolbooks, flags, homemade slogans and yard-long "pencils" above their heads and thundered: "Books Yes, Strikes No!" One private-school delegation marched under a huge banner defying the counterrevolutionary priests: "With Christ and with the Revolution!" Raul Castro ridiculed the efforts of the hierarchy and its Washington fellow-schemers, but paid the usual tribute to "the honest and respected priests who represent the real Catholics of Cuba."

ANOTHER PLANE: In the previous week another "unidentified" plane had managed to sneak in under the radar and scatter leaflets over a Havana square—just as President Kennedy was simulating alarm at Cuba's "thousands of tons" of arms. Columnist-poet Nicolas Guillen commented in **Hoy** that, since the plane got away unharmed, Cuba evidently needs "a few thousand tons more." Cubans, still trying to be optimistic about the new U.S. Administration, are almost speechless before Washington's cynicism in suggesting that they are arming for aggression. They are interested in no kind of aggression whatever except with machetes against sugar cane and with books against illiteracy.

The good news comes from Latin America, where enthusiasm for Cuba's revolution spreads fast. The conviction here is that the revolution is safe if only one major Latin American government stands with it—and the portents from Brazil are bright. In his first statement, Foreign Minister Arinos of President Quadros' new regime declared that Brazil would "maintain most cordial relations with Cuba, with no interference in internal questions." Arinos recalled his recent Cuban visit with Quadros and expressed "personal admiration" for Cuba's leaders. The **Jornal do Brasil** said the Quadros government had "already opened the road" to restoring relations with the U.S.S.R. and to possible contacts with China, and noted that Arinos especially stressed Brazil's relations with Afro-Asian countries fighting against colonialism.

On the heels of this came the landslide electoral victory of veteran socialist Alfredo Palacios over President Frondizi's Senatorial candidate in Argentina. Palacios, who was backed by the illegal Communist Party, based his campaign on support of the Cuban revolution. Amid shouts of "Cuba Si, Yanquis No" he was swept to victory by supporters who bore Castro's picture through the streets like a symbol of continental liberation.

GOLD RESERVE: Meanwhile, the "way of life" which has gone forever in Cuba was symbolized by a successful treasure-hunt in the Havana mansion of Maria Luisa Gomez-Mena y Vila, Countess de Revilla de Camargo. Before scramming for New York's Waldorf-Astoria, the queen of Havana society had carefully walled up the millions of dollars' worth of gold and jewels wrung by her two dead husbands from Cuban hunger and misery.

Fourteen domestics were left in charge of the mansion, and the Countess had forgotten only one thing—her all-too-human desire, in the "good old days," to show off. Someone brought to the revolutionary government's attention an old copy of **Life,** showing the solid-gold dinner service with which she entertained the King of Belgium and the Prince of Asturias when they visited Havana. The cache containing the mass of goldsmiths' chefs d'oeuvre—now restored to the Cuban people from whom it was filched—was found by the use of metal-detecting devices.

And in the midst of it all, an **El Mundo** reporter noted a small exquisite writing desk which once "belonged to the decapitated Marie Antoinette . . ."

BELFRAGE JOINS VOLUNTEER HARVESTERS AT A FIELD NEAR HAVANA
500,000 came out from Havana alone on the first week end

White House picket line against Cuba travel ban

THE WHITE HOUSE will be picketed Saturday, Feb. 25, to urge a lifting of the ban on travel to Cuba. The action will be sponsored by the Fair Play for Cuba Committee. Buses will leave the Committee's New York office at 799 Broadway at 8 a.m. Round trip fare is $6. Information can be obtained at the office, OR 4-8495.

Nearly 1,000 persons joined a picket line sponsored by the Committee and the July 26th Movement at the UN Saturday, Feb. 18, a Committee spokesman said. Picket signs read: "We need more Fidel Castros and fewer Uncle Toms," "Lumumba was killed by the UN."

UN and the Congo

(Continued from Page 1)

by force if necessary; (2) expulsion of all foreign troops; (3) immediate but temporary departure from the Congo of all foreign diplomatic personnel to enable the new command to function, and (4) reconvening of the parliament. Nkrumah said he wished to come to New York to present his views.

A SHOCKED WORLD: The news of the murder of Lumumba and his associates under the very nose of the UN Command —as the Ceylonese delegate observed— profoundly shocked the world. There were pro-Lumumba protest demonstrations everywhere, including one in the visitors' gallery of the UN Security Council chamber on Feb. 15—a demonstration which stopped U.S. chief delegate Stevenson in the middle of his first major speech.

Washington immediately called the world-wide demonstrations "Communist inspired." It was a preposterous characterization of mass protest by students from all parts of Africa who were studying in places as far apart as Howard University in Washington, D.C., Israel, Britain, the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and Ceylon and Tunisia, among others.

THE SMALLER NATIONS: But the murders and demonstrations seemed to have no effect whatever on the policies pursued by the West, including the U.S. Stevenson's major speech was an attempt to establish America's anti-colonial attitude as a bona fide by boasting of the Revolution of 1776 and of "liberating Cuba and the Philippines." (see Spectator, p. 12). The British speeches remained as unctuous as before; the Belgian and French as self-righteous and arrogant.

It was apparent, however, that the UN had suffered a severe blow and Hammarskjold's prestige had diminished sharply in the eyes of the Afro-Asians, the small and neutral nations.

Hammarskjold has openly solicited the support of the small, neutral nations, implying that he alone stands between them and big power rivalry. The New York **Times** said (Feb. 19): "He has for some time considered himself—or the Secretariat General—as the champion of the small nations that have come into the world organization."

A NEW SOLICITUDE: The Western powers, too, lately have become solicitous of the small nations' welfare.

Serious commentators have noted that the new solicitude—and the old—has not measured up to the needs of the small nations. Immanuel Wallerstein, a professor of sociology at Columbia, who spent 1956-57 in Ghana and the Ivory Coast and who has visited Africa twice since then, wrote in the **New Leader** of Jan. 30 (before the news of Lumumba's murder):

"The catalogue of past U.S. errors is long: voting against the inscriptions of the various North African questions at the UN; taking the lead to oppose UN-supervised elections in Cameroon; weak positions on the various South African questions; non-recognition of Guinea; failure to control the use of American arms by the French in Algeria.

"And with the Congo crisis the U.S. began to repeat the most absurd and elementary error previously made in Asia and the Middle East: simplistic division of African governments and statesmen into good and bad, on the basis of their (sometimes transitory) position toward the Soviet world, rather than on what they represent in the internal structure of their own countries."

WHAT THEY NEED: Like other scholars, Wallerstein emphasized the need and the Africans' desire for strong central governments. The argument, he says, is the same, "whether clothed in Marxian, liberal or Catholic verbiage": to overcome the divisive "regionalist, tribalist, sometimes religious" forces which are "usually not the beacon-forces of liberalism and dissent, as occasionally pictured in the West, but the forces of tradition [threatening] to pull apart a rather thin fabric . . . The central government usually stands for modernization, universal education, economic development, the possibility for the peasant to express himself and participate in government **for the first time.**" He added:

"It has been a fundamental error in the Congo situation to throw the weight of the U.S. against Patrice Lumumba . . . As many have noted, he is the one Congolese to think Congolese. Congolese know this; so do other Africans. The U.S. has arrived at its opposition to Lumumba because he is 'pro-Soviet,' whereas the correct statement of the situation is that the U.S.S.R. is 'pro-Lumumba'."

The small and neutral nations, it is true, have indicated a preference for solutions of their manifold problems through the UN. They have tried through the UN to establish that their natural resources belong to them and that they have the right to take possession of these resources from foreign owners by paying "just compensation" set by an impartial commission. They have indicated a desire for economic, technical and other forms of assistance channeled to them through the UN.

IT MIGHT HAVE BEEN: In this light there is validity to the position of Prof. Cameron Nish of Montreal's Sir George Williams University that Premier Lumumba's appeal of last July afforded the UN and its Secretary General an opportunity "to establish a precedent worthy of emulation: to contribute not only to political stability but to, in effect, lay the foundation of a new state; to construct a modern edifice out of the ruins of colonialism."

Hammarskjold could have permitted the UN Congo Command to offer at least technical aid to the Lumuba government in its efforts to bring Katanga back into the Congo,—a step which would have been consonant with the UN directives. At that time there was no open breach between Lumumba and Kasavubu. Col. Mobutu was still but a gleam in the eye of Washington, and Tshombe was the only dissident. But Hammarskjold ruled otherwise.

He could have recommended to the UN a package program for the Congo including technical, educational, health and other forms of assistance, as well as the services of a UN commission to help work out a method by which the Congo could use the resources of Katanga for the benefit of the whole nation and, in manner acceptable to both parties, liquidate foreign ownership of these resources over a period of years.

THE UN ROLE: Hammarskjold did none of these things. He has professed great concern for the small nations; he has even placed his future as Secretary General in the hands of small and neutral nations; but in the Congo he has constantly tried to keep the UN role to a minimum.

When called to explain the continued UN failure in the Congo, he has blamed the Security Council for not empowering the UN Congo Command with more authority. But he has favored a loose federation of the Congo's several provinces which, in effect, would enable the colonialists to maintain their grip on Katanga's riches and economically starve the rest of the Congo.

WHAT LIES AHEAD: The Congo's immediate future looks gloomy. The regime of Lumumba's vice premier Antoine Gizenga in Stanleyville has been recognized as legitimate by the Soviet Union and several socialist countries and by Ghana, Guinea, Mali, Morocco and Cuba. Many Afro-Asians cannot now conceive of a Congolese government built around Kasavubu, Kalonji and Tshombe. The New York **Herald Tribune** seemed to reflect the U.S. view when on Feb. 15 it said editorially that the death of Lumumba "may almost be described as suicide." On Feb. 17 it said with emphasis:

"[The U.S.] cannot accept a Castro as the representative of legitimate Cuban aspirations; it cannot accept a Gizenga as the voice of the Congo."

The Western powers may yet set up a loose Congolese federation with Kasavubu as nominal head; but it cannot last long. For it will surely fail to meet the needs of the people, and it will lead sooner or later to chaos. The solution is a strong central Congo government committed to use all the Congo's resources for the benefit of all the Congolese.

As the Moroccan delegate said, Lumumba is dead, but his principles will eventually triumph.

A DEMONSTRATOR GETS A ROUGH ESCORT OUT OF THE UN CHAMBER
A suddenly color-blind State Dept. could see only Kremlin inspiration

On prejudice

BUT NEITHER the American defense, nor the American warnings, nor Mr. Stevenson's appeal for calm and constructive action is apparently able to turn the Soviets from their pre-determined course. On the contrary, they not only returned to the attack, but also continued to stage organized riots against Belgium and Britain, against the United Nations and, as indication of their main target, the United States, including a disgraceful riot in the Security Council itself.

—New York **Times** editorial, Feb. 16.

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THE OPINION that pro-African nationalists were responsible [for the UN demonstrations] was shared by the American Committee on Africa, representatives of the Quakers and others who witnessed the outbursts. George M. Houser, chairman of the committee, said the American public did not fully appreciate the intensity of feeling among many Negroes in relating African struggles for freedom to their own fight against discrimination and prejudices.

—New York **Times**, p. 11, Feb. 16.

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BOOKS

Trapped young Americans

THREE NEW BOOKS are variations on an ancient theme: A young man finds his freedom gone, feels himself trapped by wife and child, longs to find himself. It can be a tiresome story, and small, when it looks inward; or it can be big, can look out at the world and let the world move into its restricted sphere.

Harvey Swados tries to make his stories reflect the world their people inhabit and to make his people respond to their world. I should have liked to be able to say he succeeds, because in an earlier collection, **On the Line,** he created people whose problems and agonies and victories were genuine, who lived in a world the reader could almost touch and whose lives he illuminated in simple, direct prose. In his new volume, **Nights in the Gardens of Brooklyn,*** he does not approach his former standard.

The title story is the best. It evokes the city, the pleasures of being young in New York, free, in love, without responsibilities, without commitments except to fun. It evokes the times (post war), the housing problems, the young men looking for a way to peace, the developing McCarthyism. Swados succeeds, in this story, in presenting a universal experience — youth, disillusionment, the acceptance of maturity—in personal terms. The story has a good deal to say and says it clearly, with spirit and emotion.

ONLY ONE OTHER story, **Years of Grace,** has this same quality. Here the author shows us two people, a plodding young scholar who is an incipient stuffed shirt; and his unassuming young wife who, in a year spent in France, develops a recognition of the limits of the small world of scholarship and moves out of it. The satire is sharp and a little sad, and the story rings true.

Unfortunately the other stories do not have the impact of truth or the breadth of these two or of Mr. Swados' earlier work. Some of them, **The Letters, The Dancer, Peacocks of Avignon,** seem like the work of a college student in an advanced writing class. They are mannered and the prose is frequently heavy and awkward, even purple at times.

The book cries for editing; but the involved similes, awkward phrasing, general lack of craftsmanship indicate a deeper lack: lack of belief in the meaning of the characters and their dilemmas. The author uses the problem of the artist in society and the meaning of commercial success in several stories, but he does not give his theme life in terms of his people. The elements of life are there, the situations that should touch the heart; but Mr. Swados' people are manikins and the stories case histories. This time, with the two aforementioned exceptions, he has not turned his private insights into art.

MR. UPDIKE DOES. His book **Rabbit, Run,**** is disturbing and frightening. Here again the protagonist is a young man whose moment of glory as a high school basketball player is past. Now, in the novel, he is in his twenties, in a blind-alley job, married to a dull, slovenly girl, living in an inconvenient, ugly, ill-kept apartment in an ugly town, father of an unplanned child and about to be father of another. He is one of many who move through their lives dully, without love, with no response to wife or child or home or the place where they live or the world they live in.

Some find outlets, personal or political; but Updike's protagonist (hardly a hero) runs. He is totally immature, at the beginning of the book and at its close. He is a frightening evocation, very real, of man without love, living for his pleasure only. He says: "When I ran from Janice [his wife] I made an interesting discovery. If you have the guts to be yourself, other people'll pay your price." The price in his case is the wreckage of many lives, including his own. There is one glimpse of love that is not self-love, his feeling for his new-born infant, but that is momentary, and in the end the infant dies as an indirect result of his own actions.

Supplementary characters are only slightly less depressing. The minister who tries to reclaim him, his parents, his inlaws, his old coach, the woman he lives with for a time, are all tired, ineffectual, self-deluding, living dull uncomprehending lives. Against this kind of life Harry Angstrom rebels by literally running away.

But we feel for him. Updike examines this selfish, shallow, lustful creature and says: He is a man. Feel for him. Perversely, I wish that Swados, seeing different, better people, had succeeded in showing them to us half as well. Or that Updike, who in an earlier book, **Poorhouse Fair,** saw the world and its people with a more compassionate eye, had chosen a larger and more characteristic segment of society.

MRS. JHABVALA'S STORY, **The Householder,***** almost exactly parallels Updike's book in its outline, but with what a difference! Her young hero, Prem, regretting the free and easy life of a student, feels his youth sinking out of sight in a swamp of financial problems, an unrewarding job, a wife he does not understand, parent and in-laws who inject themselves. But the book moves forward, toward solutions. The young man searches for answers, in friends, in a movement roughly similar to existentialism, in self-assertion; but he grows up, through love.

The story is simple, the solution old, and as told by the author, tender, humorous, and much deeper than appears on first reading. For into this little book (191 pages) contemporary India, its locale, enters, not dragged in from outside, but as a moving, shaping force that not only creates the problems of Prem and his wife, but acts on them in their emergence and growth. Updike and Mrs. Jhabvala handle an identical theme, but Mrs. Jhabvala lets the world in and sees her people grow. Sex that is lust in **Rabbit, Run** becomes love in **The Householder,** and with love comes acceptance of the responsibility to be a man.

—**Ruth Kronman**

**NIGHTS IN THE GARDENS OF BROOKLYN,* by *Harvey Swados, Atlantic, Little, Brown and Co. 248 pp. $3.95.*

***RABBIT, RUN,* by *John Updike. Knopf. 307 pp. $4.*

****THE HOUSEHOLDER,* by *R. Prawer Jhabvala. W. W. Norton Co. 191 pp. $3.95.*

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FEBRUARY 23, 1961

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HOW MANY gifts we gain from him
whose birthday is the world's!

How the lark's exaltation is poor
alongside his song
as to the mute he gives music:
the word Negro
translating into every tongue
its purest meaning,
meaning man and woman, our own
assumption.

As to the blind he opens
the dazzlement of light:
now we wake all mornings
to the sight of the rising dark sun.
And richest of all,
beyond any benefactor, he bestows
our hunger satisfied
through the wealth of our rightful
work:
partaking of freedom ourselves, plucking the fruit ourselves
musky as a mango the flesh sweet, ripe,
the seed immense
oval as the shape of the turning earth.

—Eve Merriam

Paulings' petition

(Continued from Page 1)

tition, Pauling made clear that "no organization has been responsible for the planning or the writing of the petition or for the collection of signatures."

DONE BY HAND: Pauling flew to New York Feb. 16, presented the petition to Hammarskjold's representative, held a press conference and returned home the same day. He told reporters how he and his wife solicited signatures. "We know a lot of people around the world," he said. For the rest, he bought copies of **International Who's Who** and the **World of Learning**, which lists professors in universities around the world. With the help of a colleague's wife, they mimeographed copies of the petition and a covering letter and hand-signed each letter. "We also wrote a little salutation on top," Pauling said, "like 'Dear Sir Alexander' to Sir Alexander Todd, British Nobel prize winner for chemistry."

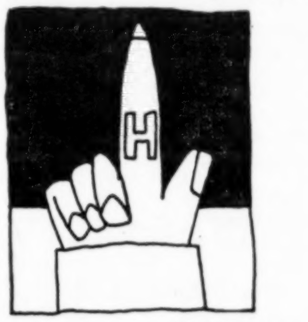
Pauling said he was heartened by the response. He said they hoped to get only 500 signers but the petition spread. In Mexico, for example, Prof. Alberto Sandoval, a former student of Pauling's, passed the petition around his university and a dozen faculty members signed. Dr. Albert Schweitzer signed three times in three separate letters to make sure that one reached Pauling in time.

Pauling pointed out that they had solicited signatures for only one month; in 1958 they worked for three months. His encounter with the Dodd committee, he said, had convinced him that petitions had an effect and were "worth the effort." He recalled that following his committee appearances an editor wrote that one effect would be that Pauling would have less success with future petitions. Pauling, who is doing research on the chemical aspects of brain functions, speculated that perhaps his "unconscious was trying to prove the editor a poor prophet."

ULTIMATE GOAL: He said that some were reluctant to sign because his letter called for "total and universal disarmament" as the "only rational ultimate goal." They thought this was unrealistic. He emphasized that while his goal was obviously far off, he believed it was the only sensible and realistic aim. In discussing his views on peace, he predicted that China would develop nuclear weapons "before the end of 1961." He urged seating the People's Republic of China in the UN and its inclusion in disarmament talks.

Pauling said that he had no commitment from any U.S. peace groups to circulate the petition, but he noted that the National Committee for A Sane Nuclear Policy had published ads supporting his position and that SANE leaders Norman Thomas and Clarence Pickett had signed his petition.

OTHER ACTIONS: Elsewhere on the peace front, peace groups across the country were pointing to Easter demonstrations on April 1. In California's Bay Area,



Konkret, Hamburg

Witness for Peace, organized by the American Friends Service Committee, planned a 50-mile walk beginning March 28 at Sunnyvale Missile Development Center to San Francisco. On April 1, demonstrators will assemble at Golden Gate Park Panhandle and walk to San Francisco's Union Square, where a rally will be held. Headquarters are at 2160 Lake St., San Francisco. Phone: SK 2-7766.

Similar projects are planned for Philadelphia and Boston. In Chicago, Witness and SANE are planning separate marches.

In New York, the SANE student council will stage a six-day march from McGuire Air Force Base in New Jersey to UN Plaza in New York. Supporters in New Jersey and New York are expected to join the march en route. The New York SANE Council will join the march as it reaches the city and hold a public meeting. The council planned to invite other groups to co-sponsor the meeting, except the 100 Days for Peace Committee, which it said was incompatible with SANE.

The 100 Days Committee, organized by the Conference of Greater New York Peace Groups, has been engaged in various activities to coincide with the first 100 days of the Kennedy Administration. It is circulating a petition against giving nuclear arms to NATO countries. It also has scheduled a walk to the UN on April 1.

CROSS-COUNTRY WALK: The Transcontinental Walk for Peace, sponsored by the Committee for Nonviolent Action, which advocates unilateral disarmament, has completed more than 1,800 miles of its 6,500-mile walk from San Francisco to Moscow. The group, averaging about 12, has walked about 25 miles a day through deserts and over mountains from California through Arizona, New Mexico, Texas and Oklahoma. Along the way the group stopped to picket military installations and distribute leaflets.

The demonstrators are fed and housed by sympathizers and church groups. In March, the walk will cover Kansas, Missouri and Illinois. Persons interested in helping the demonstrators can get a detailed itinerary from CNVA, 158 Grand St., New York 13, N.Y.

From April 1 to June 1, the group will seek mass participation from Chicago to New York. Demonstrators expect to sail for London in June and reach Moscow by fall.

FORT DETRICK VIGIL: Since July 1, 1959, a group of pacifists have maintained a vigil outside the germ warfare center in Fort Detrick, Md. About 1,600 persons have participated. Last month the group sent a latter to President Kennedy urging him to (1) end the development of biological weapons; (2) increase research in microbiology for defense against disease and starvation; (3) initiate an Intl. Health Year for 1962 through the UN; and (4) convert Fort Detrick to a World Health Center.

Lawrence Scott, project director, is touring the country in support of the program. The group is also circulating a petition for its program. Copies may be obtained from Vigil at Fort Detrick, 324 W. Patrick St., Frederick, Md.

EATON CONFERENCE: American industrialist Cyrus Eaton last month announced that he was planning to convene a conference of economic and industrial leaders from around the world to draft a treaty on disarmament for submission to governments of the world. He said he expected participants from the U.S., Britain, France, India, Japan, Latin America, U.S.S.R., China and other socialist countries. He said the time and site of the conference would not be disclosed until after the sessions were concluded to permit the freest expression without outside pressures.

AVA HELEN PAULING and LINUS PAULING
3500 Fairpoint St., Pasadena, California

AN APPEAL TO STOP THE SPREAD OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS

To the United Nations and to all nations in the world:

We, the men and women whose names are signed below, believe that stockpiles of nuclear weapons should not be allowed to spread to any more nations or groups of nations.

The world is now in great danger. A cataclysmic nuclear war might break out as the result of some terrible accident or of an explosive deterioration in international relations such that even the wisest national leaders would be unable to avert the catastrophe. Universal disarmament has now become the essential basis for life and liberty for all people.

The difficult problem of achieving universal disarmament would become far more difficult if more nations or groups of nations were to come into possession of nuclear weapons. We accordingly urge that the present nuclear powers not transfer nuclear weapons to other nations or groups of nations such as the North Atlantic Treaty Organization or the Warsaw Pact group, that all nations not now possessing these weapons voluntarily refrain from obtaining or developing them, and that the United Nations and all nations increase their efforts to achieve total and universal disarmament with a system of international controls and inspection such as to insure to the greatest possible extent the safety of all nations and all people.

Linus Pauling

Ava Helen Pauling

(Names of other initial signers are given on the opposite side)

RE-HEARING TO BE SOUGHT

Cleveland T-H case review denied

THE CONVICTIONS in January, 1958, of three Cleveland trade unionists and four Ohio Communist Party officials on charges of conspiracy to violate the Taft-Hartley law were refused a review by the Supreme Court Feb. 20. The action left standing a Federal court jury decision that the three unionists had in effect remained affiliated with the CP following resignations in order to sign Taft-Hartley non-Communist affidavits as union officers.

An appeals court, in affirming the convictions, had failed to countenance defendants' charges that the principal witness against them was an admitted perjurer and that the Federal prosecutors had knowingly withheld this information from the court and jury in violation of the Supreme Court's 1957 Jencks decision, giving defenses the right to examine statements made to the prosecution by government witnesses before testifying in court.

The effect of the Supreme Court action is to leave undisturbed what the GUARDIAN called in February, 1958, "a legal precedent for finding anyone who quit the CP to sign a T-H affidavit guilty of conspiracy with the CPUSA leadership." The original indictment named the whole U.S. CP leadership but did not include them among the defendants. The defendants are Fred and Marie Haug and Eric Reinthaler, trade unionists; and James West, Sam Reed, Andrew Remes and Hyman Lumer, all accused as Ohio CP leaders of participation in the alleged conspiracy.

KILLIAN CASE: A second T-H conspiracy case, involving leaders of the independent Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union, is still to come before the court. The Cleveland defendants will file for a re-hearing. They face 18 months in jail and $2,500 fines.

In another decision, the Court agreed to review the conviction of John J. Killian of Milwaukee, convicted in November, 1956, of falsely swearing a T-H non-communist oath as a UE staff member. Killian won a reversal of his original conviction pursuant to the Jencks decision, but was convicted again with the same witnesses and testimony. He is under a 5-year jail sentence.

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TUES., MARCH 28, 8 P.M.
At 32 W. RANDOLPH ST.

CLEVELAND

"THE CASTRO GOVT.—IS IT GOOD FOR CUBA?"—A Public Forum.
Richard B. Tussey argues, "YES,"
Leta Wood says, "NO."
FRIDAY, MARCH 3, 8 P.M.
Great Hall, Epworth Euclid Church
107th & Chester Adm. free.
Ausp: Social Action Committee.
Unitarian Society

LOS ANGELES

THE CASE FOR CUBA
Speakers: **ROBERT F. WILLIAMS,** Union County, N.C., NAACP, recently returned from Cuba; **VINCENT HALLINAN,** prominent San Francisco attorney & former Independent Progressive Party presidential candidate.
SAT., MARCH 4, 8:15 P.M.
EMBASSY Auditorium, 847 S. Grand Ave.
Donation $1., students or unem. 50c.
Ausp: Fair Play for Cuba Committee.

TWO SEMINAR SESSIONS
1—Cuba and the Theory of the Permanent Revolution; Instructor: **Theodore Edwards,** socialist writer and radio commentator. Time: **11 a.m.-12:30.**
2—Rise and Decline of the American Communist Party; Instructor: **Arne Swabeck,** a founder of the Communist Party; and **Max Geldman,** socialist lecturer and organizer. Time: **12-30-2 p.m.**
Date: Every Sunday through March 5
1702 East 4th St., Los Angeles
AN 9-4953 or WE 5-9238
AUSP: **International School of Socialism**
Cont: 35c per individual session

MINNEAPOLIS

Fair Play for Cuba Committee
PUBLIC MEETING
Speakers: Robert Williams, NAACP leader, on **WHAT I SAW IN CUBA,** and Ed Shaw, FPCC Midwest Rep., on **U.S.-CUBAN RELATIONS,** at University YMCA, 1425 Univ. Ave. S.E., Sat., Feb. 25 at 8:30 p.m. Donation 75c, students 35c.

NEW YORK

YIP HARBURG'S Happiest, Newest Show, **"THE HAPPIEST GIRL IN THE WORLD"** starring Cyril Ritchard, music by Offenbach. GUARDIAN NIGHT, Wed., March 29. For information: ORegon 3-3800.

ABOLISH THE HUAC
Public Meeting, Friday, Feb. 24, 8 p.m.
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Chairman—**CAREY McWILLIAMS**
Ausp: Emergency Civil Liberties Comm.
Admission (inclu. tax) $1.

CONFERENCE on "The Great Debate: What Are Jewish Values?" at Adelphi Hall, 74 Fifth Ave. Sat., March 18, 10 a.m.-5 p.m. SPEAKERS: Elias Picheny (Staff Member, Natl. Jewish Welfare Board) on "Transmitting the Values of Our Jewish Culture"; Morris U. Schappes, (historian, editor) on "A Secular View of Jewish Life." Other participants: poet-novelist Yuri Suhl, Mrs. Mollie Ilson, president, Emma Lazarus Federation, David Flacks, educator. Registration: $2 delegates, $1 individuals. Write for Calls and Blanks to Jewish Currents, 22 E. 17th St., N.Y.C. 3. WA 4-5740.

HOLD THE DATE Thursday evening, April 13. NEW WORLD REVIEW dinner marking Jessica Smith's 25th anniversary as editor. Belmont Plaza Hotel. Corliss Lamont, chairman. Speakers to be announced.

"IMPERIALISM IN THE CONGO"
Speaker: Shayne Mage
SAT., FEB. 24, 8:30 P.M.
116 University Pl. (off Union Sq.)
Ausp: Militant Labor Forum. Cont. 50c.

Jack Stachel, member editorial staff of The Worker, will speak on the **81 PARTY STATEMENT** and the **FIGHT FOR PEACE** on **TUES., FEB. 28,** at 8:30 p.m. at the **ALLERTON CLUB,** 683 Allerton Ave., Bronx, N.Y. Adm. free. Questions and discussion.

FRIDAY, MARCH 24, 7:30 p.m.
at JUDSON HALL, 165 W. 57 St.
PROTEST MEETING against retention of Congressman Walters' man, Gen. Swing, in the Immigration & Naturalization Service. Main speaker, **JAMES ARONSON,** editor, National Guardian. Cont. 99c. Ausp: American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born

PARTY, FAIR PLAY FOR CUBA COMM. **SAT., MARCH 4, 8 P.M.** at 1804 Longfellow Ave., apt. 2-E. WY 1-1367. Hear Cuban people's own story. Recent taped interviews & eyewitness reports. Disc., refreshments. Cont. $1. 7th or Lex. IRT, E. Bronx express, 174th St. station.

SUN., FEB. 26, 8 P.M. SHARP,
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THE GALLERY

THE MARQUESS OF EXETER, better known as Lord Burghley—educated at Eton and Cambridge, former officer in the Guards and for 12 years a Conservative Member of Parliament—is being investigated by a private American intelligence agency for possible Red ties in his political wardrobe.

Lord Burghley is a well-known sportsman in England and a former Olympic hurdler. As vice president of the Intl. Olympic Committee last year he supported a move to allow the People's Republic of China to compete in the Olympics. In 1953 he was awarded the honorary "Master of Soviet Sport" at an athletic congress in Moscow.

To some Americans this smacked of subversion. **The People,** a London weekly, reported Feb. 12 that "a mysterious group of suspicious Americans" hired a New York firm called Industrial Reports Inc., headed by retired general John V. Grombach, to check on Lord Burghley. **The People** reporter said that he had seen a letter from Grombach to a London detective agency asking it to check on Lord Burghley's business contacts and political leanings because his actions indicated that he was pro-communist or had financial connections with socialist countries.

The People reporter called Grombach in New York to confirm the story. Grombach would not reveal his clients but he said "there are still many people who wonder why the Marquess is so keen to help Russia and Red China in the Olympics."

When Lord Burghley was told of the investigation at his home in Stamford, Lincs, where he keeps his own pack of foxhounds, he said: "My godfather! Me a Red?"

UNSUCCESSFUL NUDIST CANDIDATE for President Robert Clogher announced the formation of a National Promethean Party of "all those Americans who feel that their revealed fundaments are just as holy as those of the Epimetheans." Precinct headquarters will be the 200-odd nudist parks across the country. A convention is planned for August in Holy City, Calif., to select Congressional candidates for 1962. Come as you are, Clogher writes. If he ever makes the White House, invitations to the Inaugural Ball will no doubt read, "Dress Optional." . . . An ad for the Westchester International Beauty College in a Los Angeles paper asks: "Who Drives more Cadillacs—doctors, lawyers or hair stylists?" . . . Dr. Linus Pauling told a Berkeley audience last month: "If there were no cigarets, Americans would live four years longer. If there were no cancer, we'd live two years longer. And if there were no AMA (American Medical Assn.), Americans would live ten years longer." . . . Robert Butts of San Carlos, Calif., swore that when he awoke Feb. 9 he found a nude woman standing next to his bed, demanding a drink. Although he was groggy, he said he could tell it wasn't his wife. She was out working. Butts went to the kitchen, mixed a drink and called police. They carted off the intruder and booked her for "being drunk in a private place."

Eccles, London Daily Worker
"Well, it could be all the chemicals they are putting in the food these days."

RADIO STATIONS IN LOS ANGELES may be signalling new relaxation in cold war tensions. None have thus far played a new rock 'n' roll record called, **Hey, Mr. Khrushchev.** Part of the lyrics is: "Hey Mr. Khrushchev—we don't want war / Please let your nephew dance with my niece / So we can rock 'n' roll in peace." . . . An ad in the **Wall Street Journal** read: "For Sale, 410 acres near Cape Canaveral. The fastest growing county in the U.S.A." Any misfiring missiles that fall on the property must be returned to the sender . . . Roger Claus of the Conservative Club at the U. of Wisconsin told **Time** magazine that he favored continued nuclear bomb testing. He said: "We should stop this neurotic brooding, brush the fallout off our lapels and stand up to the Russians." . . . FM station KPFA in Berkeley, Calif., will broadcast Paul Sweezy's speech, "A New New Deal?", given at a GUARDIAN anniversary celebration in San Francisco recently, on Feb. 27 at 9:25 p.m. and on Feb. 28 at 1 p.m. James Aronson's address to the same meeting, "Hot News and Cold War," will be heard on March 11 at 1:45 p.m. . . . A new Yiddish language magazine, **Soviet Homeland,** will begin publication soon in Moscow. Aaron Wergelis will be editor. . . . Western Union's advertising for "birthday singing telegrams" notes that "for only a few cents additional the word 'love' can be added to any of the above texts."

—Robert E. Light

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NEWSPAPER

the SPECTATOR

The life of Jose Rizal

THIS YEAR THE PHILIPPINE REPUBLIC will celebrate the centennial of the birth of Jose Rizal, the country's most revered patriot and martyr, but it may take more than 100 years to do it properly.

Rizal was born in 1861 in Calamba, Laguna Province. His parents were tenants on estates owned by the church and he grew up resenting the power of the religious orders. He was educated in a Jesuit school in Manila and attended a Catholic university there and his resentments expanded to include Spanish rule in general. He didn't like the political priests or the caciques or the compradores or the hacenderos. He didn't like the way all the land, and all the sugar and copra and gold and abaca somehow got into their hands.

When he finished his schooling in Manila he was sent abroad for advanced studies. He took his Doctor of Medicine degree from the University of Madrid in 1884 (he became a noted eye surgeon) and his Ph.D. in 1885. He wrote a good deal of poetry, and folk tales of his native islands. Later he studied in Paris, Berlin, Heidelberg and Leipzig. In Europe he met a number of exiled Filipinos and sharpened up his politics and with his writings began to make a name for himself back home.

WHILE HE WAS LIVING IN BERLIN he wrote a violently angry novel which he called **Noli Me Tangere** (it was later published in the United States as **The Social Cancer.**) It was a vehement denunciation of the Spanish administration in the Philippines and the "friar tenant system" under which the church owned great tracts of land while the peasants lived on dried salt fish and rice. The book had a great effect on the independence movement.

Rizal returned home in 1887 but he was compelled to leave again because of the book. In turn he lived in China, Japan, the United States, England and France and kept up his agitation against Spain. He finally settled in Hong Kong where he began to practice medicine. In 1891 he published a sequel to his first novel and called it **El Filibusterismo.**

He returned to Manila in 1892 and formed the Liga Filipina to petition for reforms but was promptly arrested as a revolutionary agitator and banished to Dapitan on Mindanao. Four years later the Spanish military authorities packed him off to Spain but he had hardly reached Barcelona when he was sent back to Manila. The Spaniards gave him a farcical trial and found him guilty and on Dec. 30, 1896, executed him before a firing squad at the age of 35 as an instigator of insurrection. It was his death that instigated the insurrection against Spain.

BUT THE REVOLT TOUCHED OFF by Rizal's martyrdom was inconclusive and got mixed up with the Spanish-American War. Internal differences led to the assassination of Andreas Bonifacio, an early organizer of the revolution. His death put Gen. Emilio Aguinaldo in charge of the armed forces. Aguinaldo won some concessions but then negotiated a peace with Spain under which he went to Hong Kong in exile. When the Spanish-American war started, Commodore Dewey talked him into coming back to organize the natives against Spain. When Spain lost to the U.S. after 100 days of hostilities, Aguinaldo proclaimed a Philippine Republic and named himself President.

But in Paris on Dec. 10, 1898, Spain signed a peace treaty ceding the Philippines to the U.S. and American troops began pacifying the islands. Aguinaldo held out through 1899 but Manifest Destiny was too much for him and he was forced into hiding. Gen. Frederick Funston captured him in March, 1901, and a month later Aguinaldo took an oath of allegiance to the U.S. and dropped out of public life. Apolinario Mabini, who had been a close co-worker with Rizal and was a leader of the revolution, refused to cooperate with the American occupation and was exiled to Guam in 1900. He died there three years later.

There is no way to tell what Rizal would have thought about this turn of events, but the only thing that happened was that Americans replaced Spaniards. The religious orders were reduced in importance but the Philippines was still praised as the only Christian nation in the Orient and the hacenderos were undisturbed in their ownership of the land. The compradore—the indispensable native middleman—became even more important and the sugar and copra and gold and abaca now made Americans rich while the peasants still lived on dried salt fish and rice.

IN A WAY, 1945 was 1898 over again. In both years U.S. armed forces landed in the islands to find an insurrectionary movement under way against a common enemy—first the Spaniards, then the Japanese. Both times the U.S. put down the insurrectionists; in 1945 it was the Hukbalahap which had fought both the Japanese invader and the native collaborationist. Philippine prisons are crowded today with Huk fighters for independence, including William Pomeroy and his wife whose case is familiar to GUARDIAN readers.

Four years ago the Philippine government set up a commission to plan the celebration of the Rizal centennial. It was to raise a fund of 10,000,000 pesos with which to build a National Cultural Shrine—a library, a theater and a museum on Manila's Luneta—and to erect Rizal memorials at Fort Santiago and in Dapitan. It was also to publish his complete works in several Filipino languages, and several lesser projects were planned. Today only a third of the fund has been collected; the memorials aren't built, and the Luneta project is lagging; only the library is likely to be finished in time for the official celebrations.

No one can be quite certain that Dr. Jose Rizal himself wouldn't be in jail if he were alive today.

—Lawrence Emery